

## Message Text

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15

ACTION EUR-12

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INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMEMBASSY MADRID

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AMEMBASSY ROME

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION USUN

AMCONSUL ZAGREB

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E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: PFOR YO UR XH

SUBJ: PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM REARS ITS UGLY HEAD

REF: BELGRADE 4483

1. SUMMARY: YUGOSLAV PRESS IS BEGINNING TO CRITICIZE

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RENEWED STRESS OF CONCEPT "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM"

IN SOVIET PRESS DESPITE EXCLUSION OF PHRASE FROM ECPC  
FINAL DOCUMENT. NON-DISPUTATIOUS IN TONE, YUGOSLAV  
ARTICLES NONETHELESS TERM THIS CONCEPT CONTRARY TO ECPC  
FINAL DOCUMENT. IMPLIED IN YUGOSLAV ARTICLES IS THAT SOVIETS  
NEED TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR BASE SUPPORT IN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.  
END SUMMARY.

2. RESURRECTION IN SOVIET MEDIA OF THEME AND PHRASE  
PROLETARIAN (OR SOCIALIST) INTERNATIONALISM HAS BEEN  
HIGHLIGHTED IN RECENT SPATE OF YUGOSLAV NEWSPAPER ARTICLES.  
MAIN TARGET HAS BEEN PIECE IN SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF  
MEZHDUNARODNA ZHIZN (MZ), ALTHOUGH YUGOSLAV ARTICLES  
REPORT THAT OTHERS IN SOVIET PRESS HAVE JOINED IN.  
POLITIKA (SEP 7) QUOTES MZ AS STATING : "THE  
INCREASINGLY COMPLETE MANIFESTATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF  
PROLETARIAN, SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM IN MUTUAL RELATIONS  
OF BROTHERLY PARTIES AND PEOPLES OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES  
REPRESENTS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT EXPRESSIONS OF THE  
OBJECTIVE PROCESS OF CLOSER ASSOCIATION OF THE PEOPLES  
OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY."

3. ACCORDING TO POLITIKA, SOVIET ARTICLE ASSERTS THAT  
ANY "ABSOLUTIST INTERPRETATION OF GENERAL DEMOCRATIC  
PRINCIPLES SUCH AS EQUALITY, SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE,  
AND THEIR CONFRONTATION WITH PRINCIPLES SUCH AS BROTHERLY  
MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WOULD BE  
IN CONTRADICTION TO THE SPIRIT AND SUBSTANCE OF SOCIALIST  
INTERNATIONALISM." AT THIS POINT, IN ITS ONLY DIRECT  
REBUTTAL, POLITIKA ARTICLE STATES THAT THIS INTERPRETATION  
DOES NOT ACCORD WITH STATEMENTS IN ECPC FINAL DOCUMENT.

4. NEVERTHELESS POLITIKA MAINTAINS THIS POSITION IS  
RELATED TO "INCREASING TALK (IN SOVIET PRESS) ABOUT BASIC  
TRENDS OF 'CLOSER ASSOCIATION OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES'  
IN ECONOMICS...AND IN FOREIGN POLICY." THIS IS PARTICULARLY  
NOTICEABLE, STATES POLITIKA, AFTER BOTH ECPC AND SERIES  
OF INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS BREZHNEV HELD THIS SUMMER IN  
CRIMEA WITH EE LEADERS. POLITIKA DECLARES THAT THE  
CONSIDERABLE ANALYSIS IN SOVIET PRESS OF "THESE ACCENTS...  
IMPOSES IMPRESSION" THAT THESE TENDENCIES ARE BEING ENCOURAGED  
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IN WARSAW PACT AND COMECON COUNTRIES.

5. CITING ONLY ARTICLE BY BULGARIAN CP SECRETARY IVAN  
PRIMOV IN PARTIINAJE ZHIZN, POLITIKA MAINTAINS THAT SOVIET  
PRESS ALSO IS CARRYING ARTICLES BY FOREIGN CP MEMBERS  
EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOVIET UNION TO  
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

6. ARTICLE IN SEP 6 BORBA ALSO TAKES OUT AGAINST  
MZ. BORBA'S THEME IS THAT SOVIETS ARE TRYING TO PRESENT  
RULES OF CONDUCT AMONG WARSAW PACT STATES AS "NEW TYPE  
OF RELATIONS AMONG SOCIALIST STATES." BORBA ASSERTS THIS  
"OLD" TYPE OF RELATIONS "COULD NEVER BECOME A MODEL FOR  
ALL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES."

7. BORBA REMARKS THAT NEED FOR ARTICLE IS PERHAPS  
REACTION TO ECPC, AND REFUTES CLAIM THAT "NORMS AND  
PRINCIPLES ('FOUNDED UPON SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM')  
HAVE FOUND THEIR EXPRESSION IN... COMMUNIST AND WORKERS  
PARTIES CONFERENCES IN 1957, 1960, 1969 1976."  
IT INSISTS THAT ECPC "HAD ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO DO WITH  
THE PAST."

8. FINALLY, BORBA SAYS THAT NOTHING IS NEW IN MZ  
ARTICLE "EXCEPT INTERCONNECTION BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW,"  
AND TERMS THE THESIS SET FORTH AS "INCONGRUOUS NOT ONLY  
WITH THE IDEAS AND POLICY OF AN EVEN GREATER NUMBER  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES BUT TO A CERTAIN DEGREE WITH  
INDIVIDUAL DECLARATIONS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND  
SOVIET CP DOCUMENTS."

9. COMMENT: YUGOSLAV REACTION TO REBIRTH OF "PRO-  
LETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" MANIFESTATION THUS FAR HAS BEEN  
RESTRAINED. HOWEVER, HAVING FLOODED LOCAL MEDIA WITH  
ITS POSITION ON THE SUBJECT IN THE PAST, YUGOSLAVS NEED  
ONLY QUOTE CONTRARY CONCEPTS TO ILLUSTRATE TAGETS OF  
CRITICISM. IN THE MAIN BORBA AND POLITIKA ARTICLES  
DO JUST THIS. ALSO IN THIS RESPECT, TANJUG DEVOTED  
CONSIDERABLE SPACE TO RUDE PRAVO'S RECENT BLAST AGAINST  
L'UNITA AND LATTER'S RESPONSE. ANNOYED TONE OF YUGOSLAV  
ARTICLES INDICATES INTENTION TO PERSIST ALONG THIS TRACK.  
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DESPITE AWARENESS THAT SOVIETS WOULD PERSIST IN THEIR OWN  
IDEOLOGICAL PURSUITS (FORESHADOWED IN OUR POST-ECPC  
ANALYSIS PER REFTEL), YUGOSLAVS NOW EXPERIENCING SOME  
UNEASINESS OVER SOVIET STATEMENTS LINKING SOVEREIGNTY  
WITH SOLIDARITY. OUR READING OF ECPC DOCUMENT PUTS  
SOVIETS ON STRONG IDEOLOGICAL GROUND, WHICH MUST ENHANCE  
YUGOSLAV UNEASE. KEY SENTENCE OF DOCUMENT CONCERNING  
THIS ISSUE READS: "THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IN ONE'S  
COUNTRY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF EVERY PARTY TO ITS OWN  
WORKING CLASS AND PEOPLE ARE LINKED WITH THE MUTUAL  
SOLIDARITY OF WORKING PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES, OF ALL  
PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS AND PEOPLES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR  
FREEDOM AND STRENGTHENING OF INDEPENDENCE, FOR DEMOCRACY,  
SOCIALISM AND PEACE IN THE ENTIRE WORLD." THUS THERE IS  
AMPLE JUSTIFICATION FOR SOVIET ASSERTION IN MZ THAT "ANY

ABSOLUTIST INTERPRETATION OF ...SOVEREIGNTY... AND  
CONFRONTATION WITH INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WOULD BE  
IN CONTRADICTION TO SPIRIT AND SUBSTANCE OF SOCIALIST  
INTERNATIONALISM" AND ECPC.  
SILBERMAN

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